/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361 342 113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29/cont./

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[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

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[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184 /footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and
(634) "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bulᶜwān, for example, proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184 It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are in-
(634) dividual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments ibyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," lmud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

634 613 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 333 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
[178] turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the S[illegible]awa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
[562] is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[342] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
272 in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
178 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong

634 173 619

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachāba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachāba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./
coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure. This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man, soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

/111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/163 cont./

241 441 237 (675) of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking because, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal manure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of transhumance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral decision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magistrate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the ancestral custom.

691 692 237 427 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of citations from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) because such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity, which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand, cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 24 [191] Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of

• [342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles before the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field: so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

[241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion
• [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branès architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

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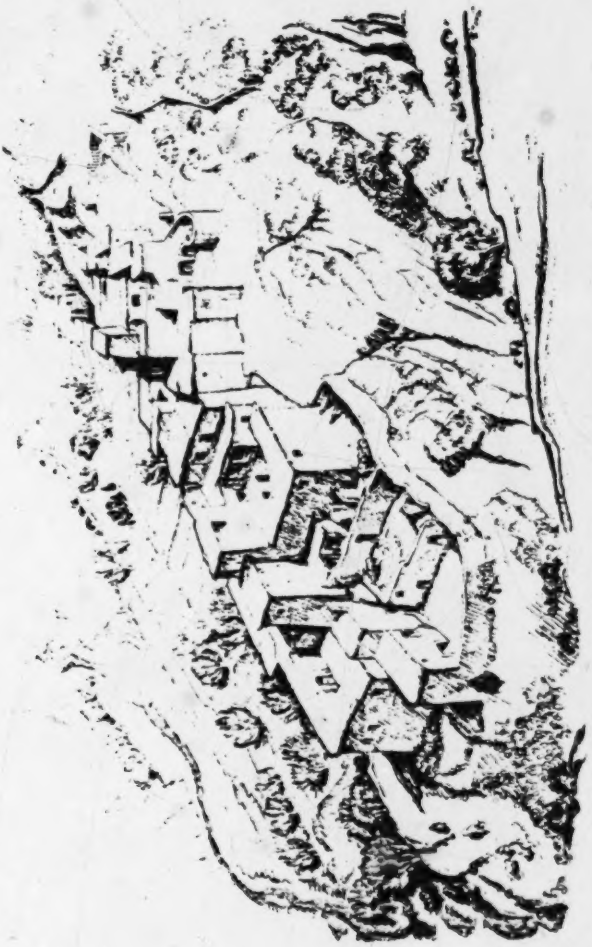

Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

J. BERQUE

1: Berque--647 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

3H1
2H2
3H3
3S3
3G1
4H

/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

1: Berque--649 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Shluh MW11

[For additional information on the casbahs as the residence of the "great chiefs," see also category 712.]

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

•342 184 [642] or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] [414] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. [592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/42 cont./ household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones. Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women, who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established • 342 sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
•[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the •[342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 [726] But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 •342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 [648] Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

[712] In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
• [342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[343] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first